A School for All: A Study of Children with Special Needs in Kolkata

SYNOPSIS:

The present study is concerned about the process of inclusion of Children with Special Needs (CwSN) in government run schools of Kolkata. Building on the principle of 'leaving no one behind', inclusive education aims for a holistic approach to achieve sustainable development for all. With the passing of Right to Education Act, 2009, India's nationwide *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* program has sought to bring all children into elementary school, including those with disabilities. In spite of various policy formulations, it is often seen that CwSN may be enrolled within a government run school but are not 'Included' in true sense of the term. Ball (1994) problematizes the inclusion policy where he stresses that the framing of the policies were inherently abstract, where there was a need to intervene into the multiple complexities and realities associated with practice of inclusion.

Exploration of literatures as well as official documents show that the discourse of inclusive education in India is more concerned regarding the educational rights of the CwSN, in contrast to the much highlighted definition of inclusive education, which champions the cause of equal opportunities for all. My study attempts to penetrate the government run inclusive school culture, where in the process of including CwSN, resource rooms play the dominant role in access and retention to education capital. Mehrotra (2012) remarks on the significant negligence of Indian academia while highlighting the sociological dimensions of disability. Studies in India have either chosen privately run inclusive schools (Jha, 2007; Das and Kattumari , 2011) for introspection, or have focused on documents and policy analysis followed by practitioners perspective, while dealing with government schools set up.

The Government of India adheres to the philosophy of inclusion through a range of policy mechanisms that include Rehabilitation Council of India Act 1992; Persons with Disabilities Act 1995, National Trust for Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities Act 1999. Since its initiation from the Salamanca World Conference (UNESCO, 1994) as an extension of the 1990 Jomtien Declaration, there has been a discernable shift of worldwide policy towards continuous evaluation of the purpose of Education for All (Chenga et al., 2021). As a result, growing numbers of intervention-programmes for inclusive education have been implemented in the system of mainstream (regular) school across the globe

(Graham & Jahnukainen, 2011; Sin, 2010). As a signatory of the Salamanca Conference, India implements the inclusive policy in education by mandating free and compulsory elementary education, backed by the 86th Amendment of the Indian Constitution.

The present study specifically tries to understand the culture of inclusion of CwSN, in the government run schools of Kolkata. Here the data comes from the beliefs, perspectives as well as value structure of the participants**.** The nature of my research questions are attempts to understand my participants' actions from their own frame of reference (Biklen & Bogdan, 2007). I am concerned with their subjective experiences. As I maintain that all knowledge is socially constructed, my choice of qualitative methodology is epistemologically consistent (Crotty, 1998). My initiation to the present research is connected with my 'lived experiences' of being an assistant teacher of government run primary school of Kolkata. Working in a government run school also helped me to prepare to the complexities and multiple field positions associated with inclusive schools. Hence the task of researching on inclusion of CwSN in government run schools involved a series of stakeholders and physical space beyond school. The beforehand overview of my field helped in enhancing the intense commitment which got reflected to methodological basis of the concerned study. As I tried to prepare the methodological directions of the study, critical ethnographic approach seemed to be effective as well as interesting**.** As an educational ethnographer, I chose to take my place as a conscious actor and embrace the responsibility of reflecting and acting with my fellow community members (McMaster, 2014). Freire said that reflection without action was empty 'verbalism', and that action without reflection was potentially worse, manipulative 'activism' (Crotty, 1998). Exploration of the research problem from critical ethnographic lens helps to understand the issues and inequalities faced by these children.

The study primarily focuses on the 'voices' of children with diverse learning needs. Further, it also captures the perspective of the Special Educators, parents and the regular teachers who are other participants of the process. Walmsley and Johnson (2003) initialized the notion of inclusive research as that which involves people who may otherwise be seen as subjects for the research as instigators of ideas, research designers, interviewers and users. In the discourse of disability inclusion, there is a consistent invisibility of special needs children in response to exclusion- inclusion research (Booth, 1996). The inclusive researchers voiced for the active participation of children in the research process. With reference to the broader philosophical goal of inclusive paradigm, I have initially tried to understand the practice of inclusion within schools

from the perspectives of CwSN. However, understanding inclusion seemed to be a complex phenomenon in Indian government schools, which involves multiple characters, situations and spaces. Hence to have a holistic understanding of the inclusion process in schools, there is a need to consider the other stakeholders of the process.

India's public education follows a resource room model based inclusion. Here CwSN are admitted to a regular school as well as requested to visit the resource rooms for additional learning benefits, where special educators help them in their studies. I have observed that CwSN attend to these resource rooms (located far away from their regular school), usually escorted by their parents. As this study ideally attempted to understand and project the voice of special needs children in the inclusion process, the location of the field had to be a place, where they can be observed in 'natural, independent' settings. Thus, resource rooms became my first field of intervention.

It is necessary to mention here that government run primary and secondary schools are looked after by different sets of administrative departments. Hence the primary and the secondary schools need to be treated as separate categories with different sets of school administrator, faculty as well as staff. However, the schools may run in a same building. Often, primary and secondary wing of a school is located in two different allocated spaces within a same school. Government run schools often face the problem of space crunch and therefore also accommodate into a shared space, where the school (Primary and the secondary) timings are different.

As an ethnographer, I may not claim 'school's physical space' as another field site beside the resource room, since my observations here were opportunistic. I would like to reflect on the cultural space of the inclusive government run school as my field which involves the resource rooms, playgrounds, common space, which was at my disposal. Natural settings like playgrounds, picnics seemed to be crucial point of introspection. Further resource rooms which were one of the focal spaces of inclusion served to be a dominant field site because of the availability of CwSN population as well as their parents and special educators who are other governing stakeholders of the process.

The central theme of the first chapter is to explore the inter-linkage associated with school climate and the goal of inclusion. The school climate includes physical aspect of a school, as well as the psychological aspect which mostly depend on the attitude of teachers and other participants

of the school. While talking about school infrastructure, sanitation facilities, avai accessibility to toilet facilities becomes an important subject of enquiry. Sanitation facility plays an important role in the process of enhancing school climate by bringing an increase in daily attendance percentage. In case of CwSN, accessible school infrastructure plays an important role in enhancing their participation and attendance rate.

Numerous narratives give a rough picture regarding the status of special toilets in government run schools of Kolkata. In the drive towards provision of inclusive environment, challenge of sanitation is acting as one of the exclusion practice which needs to be immediately realized. In this exclusion inclusion debate, the absence of data on special toilets in government statistics is often a subject of critical question.

The other aspect of the school comprises of the cultural climate which is identified through the communication exchanges among the stakeholders, who are the 'gatekeepers of inclusion'. Teachers are known to be one of the significant stakeholders of the inclusive schools. Here the perspective of teacher can be categorized into two sub themes the role of head teacher and the role of teachers.

School leadership is important in the journey towards inclusion since his/ her attitude as well as personal initiative brings a massive change within the overall psyche of the school. Stoll and Fink (1996) while stressing on the significance of school leadership emphasized on spiritual aspects including transformation, orientation towards people, strategic development, shared ownership, direction, inspiration, motivation.

Inclusive philosophy reflects on the adaptability mechanism of the education system, where it is obvious that the teachers, an important stakeholder of inclusive schools, are expected to accommodate heterogeneous learners. Class room settings, casually connected with the efficacy of a teacher can be significantly addressed as the place where real inclusion takes place, where the teacher's vision on inclusion predominates. Teacher's perceptions are shaped up by their socialization as well as their knowledge base which often act as a stumbling block to the process of inclusion. Narratives reflect that the teachers may support inclusion generally but they are often unprepared and are concerned about their efficacy. As a result of it, they are often found to be reluctant to accommodate CwSN within regular classrooms. Can teacher's pedagogy be independent of social reflections and expectations? Bernstein remarks that knowledge is developed on the basis of societal experience where 'the teachers will internalize, as in all processes of

socialization, the interpretative procedures of the code so that these become implicit guides which regulate and co-ordinate the behaviour of the individual teachers in the relaxed frames and weakened classification.' Bernstein (1971). In the field, teacher's unconscious categorization of 'normal' and CwSN is backed up by the dichotomy of 'normal/abnormal' (Foucault, 1977)bodies. Teacher's perception in the goal of inclusion needs to start from the perception of disability, where teachers have their own implicit understanding of disability, backed up by their 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1990), which modifies their explicit attitudes. Conceptualizing the notion of 'normal' bodies needs to be addressed from the theoretical framework of Foucault's 'Box of Tools'. Foucault (1990) emphasizes on knowledge politics of the construction of 'Normal Bodies' and the consistent categorization as well as segregation of bodies beyond the normal space.

Mainstreaming CWSN is a macro process where the foundation starts within the roots of the family, so perception of family of the special child plays a significant role in the macro level inclusion process. Parents are the central link in the care, education and supervision of CwSN. When a handicapped child is born, all expectations and hopes are dashed. Limaye (2016) emphasizes on the stigma associated with disability, getting transferred to the parents which often acts as stumbling block towards the process of inclusion. My field revealed two broad reflections where a special needs child is often a source of stress and in case of acute economic crisis, it can take the shape of a liability. Another significant revelation of the field is that disability is often legitimized through theological lens as a punishment or a consequence of a sin.

Parental perception towards the process of inclusive schools is important. They are not only responsible as parent to their children. MHRD has enhanced the role of parents by making them invincible entities in school development committees and Parents Teachers Association. With reference to my field, there are some observations which need to be mentioned beforehand. Most of my parent respondents' basic qualification did not exceed beyond secondary level. Most of them belonged to lower middle socio-economic background. The above-mentioned characteristics are needed to be considered while theorizing parental perception towards the inclusion of special needs children, since the community of parents focused upon, is contrasting to the reality of parental advocacy in disability movement. There is a need to understand the role of the family as well as its 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1990) to efficiently deal with the socio cultural development of a child.

My initiation of the study, tries to place the 'voices of CWSN' as collaborators in inclusive research. There has been a shift in the way of viewing and imaging children in the discourse of new sociology of childhood (James, 1996; Qvortrup, et.al, 1994). Drawing on Prigogine's (1980) discussion of time as 'being and becoming', Uprichard (2008) suggest that children as 'becomings' and 'beings' who can share their opinion, ideas as well as rights (Christensen and Prout, 2005). Tangen (2008) opined that children being a social actor can make sense of their own lives. The theoretical debates has helped in developing the ground for inclusive research which champions the idea of children, as beings, who can speak, express as well as voice their own perspective.

Understanding the culture of inclusion from CwSN's perspective becomes necessary, since 'popular' discourse on inclusive education as well as Indian policy level analysis brings us to the conclusion on the conceptualization as well as concentration of the term centered on CwSN. Mcmaster (2014) through his vivid study of inclusive culture in schools of New Zealand, have suggested five elements of inclusive culture. It includes relationships, advocacy, shared experiences, and sense of identity as well as transparency. On the basis of the above-mentioned framework, I am trying to interconnect my field reflection from CwSN's lens.

In a school, a child's 'significant' communication exchanges involve his class mates and teachers predominantly. Beyond them, a child also needs to communicate with their Head teachers as well as parent community. My field is concerned with government run primary and secondary school, where it is often seen that students live in proximity to nearby schools. Children often come from a nearby neighbourhood, which can be a slum (as seen in case of most of my respondents). From this, what I wanted to focus is that children often tend to come from a similar neighbourhood, where their 'life chances' are quite similar. Thus, sharing of life chances also brings in a sense of homogeneity. This also brings me to explore the links between communication, language as well as life chances in response to my field respondent.

Field observation shows that CwSN are often subjected to abuse. Unfortunately, there is a lack of empirical research in regard to this. There is a need for a thematic comprehension of violence in response to disability. One of the major constituents of an inclusive environment comprises of the component of care. Wardhough and Wilding (1993) speaks of 'corruption of care' component within organizational space, where behaviour is often beyond the normal bounds of moral behaviour, where they are often seen as 'less than fully human'. Such neutralization of

moral concerns takes the shape of 'cultural stereotyping' (Wardhough and Wilding, 1993). The process of identifying CwSN on the basis of normal /abnormal binaries or identifying with derogatory terms clearly signify the idea of consistent exclusion as well as the imbalanced power construction within organization and institutional space.

Power construction can take various shapes. In case of ability factors, power takes the shape of labels. In the practice of cultural stereotyping, labels act as identifiers, which prescribe and attribute particular characteristics to things. The process of labeling involves two central characters, labeler and the labelled. In case of disability discourse, labeler is macro term. It is not restricted to the characters of a particular scenario. The process of constructing a label, by a labeler, is backed up by social and cultural reflection to the issue of disability. CwSN of my field are often identified by their 'weaknesses'. The terms like '*paagol', 'boka' 'khyapa' or 'kala'* can be identified as labels which accentuates an impression of how language becomes an instrument of power and social construction.

The culture of inclusive schools gets reflected through the analysis of 'spoken discourses' (Skidmore, 2004). Foucault in his seminal work (1979) has highlighted on discourse which includes practices that symbolize meaning and social relationship, which may also include subjectivity as well as power consensus. Embedding Foucaldian idea of discourse in understanding the culture of inclusive schools brings a series of exclusionary practices, which again questions how inclusion is understood by school and its respective stakeholders.

While trying to posit the voices of the CwSN, there is a need to understand their school experiences as well as their relationships and communications with the school personnel, comprising of the peers as well as the teachers. The field reflects on two important forms of relationships which can be described as 'gatekeepers of inclusion' (Allan, 1999). This includes relationships of special needs children with their peers as well as their relationship with teachers. These relationships influence the participation process of the special needs children as well as help them to create bonds within schools. Narratives from the field reflects mostly on covert exclusionary practices, where some of the respondents expressed their discomfort in attending schools, while others expressed their inclination towards resource rooms.

Field narratives foreshadow the relevance of 'doing things together', envisaging two factors in this context. One is the socio-cultural aspects based on the social model of disability where attitudes and behavioral exchanges are glued to the reflections of normality and defect,

reinstating the practice of exclusion and isolation. The other aspect of the narrative questions on the involvement of teacher personnel in the school and how they use their 'authority' to include the subject.

The accounts of the CwSN as well as their parents about their school experiences are flavored with the medical and social model of disability discourse, where on the basis of this discourses, school stakeholders transmit and produce power which determine their exchanges and conduct with the CwSN. Allan (1999) in her seminal ethnography on the disabled pupils' experiences of Scotland schools speaks of the conduct of 'mainstream students' getting dictated by the framework of 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1982). Positing Foucaldian lens, Allan (1999) conceptualizes the power of governmentality influencing patterns of relationships, individuals share with each other as well as objects such as 'resources…ways of acting and thinking…accidents and misfortunes' (Foucault, 1991). Relationships in schools are backed by 'governmental regimes' (Allan, 1999), which patterns the carrying out of relationships in schools including peers and student teacher exchanges.

The introduction of inclusive education policy initiates the culture of heterogeneity, where children irrespective of any ability factors can access equal educational opportunities. The initiation of the policy was posited through the process of 'zero rejection' in various government run schools, however the question which confronts me as an ethnographer is how inclusion in education is understood? At this juncture there is a need to move beyond policy level discourse, where the success of inclusive education in schools needs to be understood from the cultural lens of inclusion in schools, which includes the practices and interaction patterns among school stakeholders.

The third chapter of the thesis is an analytical reflection on the practices of exclusion understood from the field narratives. How do we perceive disability? Disability is often understood as an instance of human diversity where the identity of 'disabled' is socially constructed ongoing process, often accentuated through communication exchanges across social contexts. Disability of a person acts as a determining factor in response to their social positions. These social perceptions often act as regulating factor in patterning their lives. Hence in response to my field observations, it can be assumed that perception towards disability often guide research, policies as well as interventions. The goal of inclusive education is often understood as an important step towards mainstreaming the special needs, however, materializing the philosophy often needs an empathetic and inclusive approach on the part of the participants involved. Two significant themes which

came out from the field involve legitimization of the disability through religious codes as well as disability being perceived in negative fashion. In response to these field reflections, there is a need to understand the societal reflections on disability, which shapes the perception towards including the CwSN. Dominant discourses which get well expressed through communication exchanges often accentuate the process of disablement within the inclusive space. In this chapter I am trying to focus on the cultural discourses which shape up the social perceptions towards disability, which affects the process of including CwSN not only in the educational institution but to the larger society.

Field narratives dominantly reflect that parents of the CwSN perceive disability as a 'divine punishment' which allowed me to reflect on the religious discourses which is guiding the process of communication exchanges as well as inclusion. Analysis of participant's discourse helps to deconstruct the ways through which they theorize disability. Religious discourses perceive disability in a negative fashion where Hindu theology voices on karma theory, in coherence to other religions (Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism) which also treat disability as an 'unholy' symbol. Hence it can be assumed that religion plays an underlying factor in governing human behaviour and their communication exchanges.

In the socio political landscape of the country, rising paradigm on disability can be concentrated on the emergence of terminologies in flavour of religious model. The question of right terminologies has been a subject of contestations among many disability movements of the world. With reference to the present treatise, there is a need to delve into the nomenclature of 'divyaang'(divine body) which has been a new addition to the series of disability terminology. In the year of 2015, the term was first introduced by the Honorable Prime Minister of the country, where he suggested the term Divyaang (divine body), instead of viklang (disability), presumably. In line with the Prime Minister's call to call the disabled as 'Divyang' instead of 'Viklang', the Centre has renamed the Department of Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities to incorporate the word 'Divyang' in its Hindi as well as English nomenclature. The term 'divyaang' is associated with divinity, a religious concept. Braddock and Parish (2000) have contended that the notions of divine retributions and divine tests have been connected with disability since long time. Paniker (2019) laments that use of such terms are premised on restricted conceptions of deprivations, experienced by the disabled people. The introduction of the terminology indirectly reflects the depth of the religious roots in the society, at the same time; it shows how system and the policy

makers realize the social psyche and henceforth use of such terms can be regarded as an attempt, to reassign the role of religion to the path of empowerment and inclusion of the disabled.

The last chapter of the thesis tries to analyze inclusive education through the dynamics of time and space. The politics of spatial discourse has also been a subject of introspection educational reform and research (Lindgren, 2010). Drawing from Armstrong's understanding of the spatialization of England's education system, I attempt to classify the multiple spaces of inclusive school where the 'school space' comprising of the playground, classroom, stairs, toilets may be acknowledged as the physical spaces of inclusion (Armstrong, 2003). Another significant aspect of inclusive schools involves the cultural space (Armstrong, 2003) which comprises of the pedagogy as well as everyday practices. The stakeholders of inclusive schools are distributed in these spaces. Inclusion is a macro term which gets materialized in physical as well as cultural space. Armstrong (1999) opines that space, boundaries and frontiers are significant in educational structures and exchanges, where it reinforces power relations among social groups. The physical and cultural spatial repartition in schools often culls exclusion. Field narratives have reflected on various classroom practices related to 'inequal' spatial classroom seating arrangements, which inherently results in isolation for CWSN. Armstrong (1999) refers to 'spatial demarcations or spatial markers' which re-imposes as well as reproduce social exclusion in schools.

Schools as educational spaces need to be more inclusive. It should concentrate on the creation of an inclusive pedagogy to accommodate to the needs of diverse learners. Classroom practices are a significant aspect of any school space. Adherent to the inclusive philosophy, classrooms are expected to be inclusive to cater to the needs of diverse learners. There is a need to understand the complexity of diverse learners, who belong to different social, cultural as well as economic backgrounds, where the teaching learning activity needs to process this reality and thereupon create an inclusive class room. Further, the profile of the children needs to be looked upon from multiple dimensions where along with aforesaid backgrounds, gender and disability are added inescapable categories. While creating inclusive classrooms, teachers and the school administrators needs to be conscious about these multiple dimensions to create an inclusive classroom. In case of private schools, one of the significant factors involves similar life chances of the students, which therefore facilitate a symmetrical classroom design where pedagogical approach can be constructed accordingly.

Pedagogies have been produced through particular ways of being and doing, which tend to exclude those identities and forms of knowledge, which do not conform or fit in. Cultural space of pedagogy is a broader phenomenon which is different from the stereotypical teaching methods. Bernstein (2000) views pedagogy as an assembly of rules and regulations through which knowledge is established in the classroom through the medium of classroom interaction as well as curriculum. Burke et.al (2013) highlights that pedagogy emphasizes on the relative nature of teaching and learning practices, where it may also be associated with the trajectories of inequality and exclusion. Pedagogy is inherently cultural as it is 'lived' and involves 'embodied practices (Burke et.al, 2013). The pedagogical cultural space often elucidates the spatialization process of identity formation, differentiation as well as relationships

My field involves interaction with ten teachers of regular schools comprising of six primary schools' teachers and four secondary schools. Observation of two resource rooms allows me to assume that availability of CwSN students at primary level is quite high, which inherently reduces as we rise to the higher rungs of the 'class' hierarchy. One of the reasons may include the 'pass/fail' system introduced in class eight of government school curriculum. The implementation of inclusive education policy is significantly related to the social model of disablement, where the teacher's perception on disability elucidates the inclusive culture of the school. Teacher's reflection on disability often reflects their inclusive attitude and their process of accommodating the CwSN. Interactions and discussions with the teachers were essential for interpreting the inclusive experiences of the CwSN in regular school. When I asked the teachers how they plan their lessons for learners of diverse needs, the most common answers were centered around the broad codes of 'text book-oriented study' and 'not possible'. Teachers believed that efficient pedagogical output can never be achieved in an optimum level if there is a composite class.

Since the chapter tries to negotiate inclusive education through the concepts of time and space, in the following sub theme, I attempt to explore the domain of inclusion in the temporal space of the pandemic situation. The COVID 19 pandemic has affected the whole world by posing serious social, economic, health as well as environmental challenges. UNESCO (2021) reported that by mid 2020, more than 1.2 billion students worldwide had stopped having face-to-face classes at all levels of education. The closing of the physical interaction had detrimental effects on children and inadvertently questioned the educational structure. UN (2021) further confirms that the

adverse effects of pandemic was found in rural as well as among poverty driven families, where the time of pandemic encouraged drop outs and poor transition rates. At this juncture there is a need to explore the inclusive education of the country in the new normal situation. The temporal phase of the pandemic therefore introduced 'new normal 'situations to adjust with. It involved work from home, use of online services as well as telephonic and virtual communications. It is quite evident that all the educational institutions including schools were closed and was substituted with online classes via various online platforms line Google meet, Classroom, Zoom as well as WhatsApp. In West Bengal, schools were highly affected since it was closed from 24th march 2020 to 16th February, 2022.

The detrimental effects on education and schooling were clearly seen in the pandemic period where the alternative of virtual learning proved educational inequality which was interrelated to digital access and empowerment. At this juncture, there is need to explore the education of CwSN in the times of pandemic. Most of the students of government run schools come from lower socio-economic background, which inherently makes their access to the digital space quite difficult. In a 72-page report by the Pratichi Trust (2021) shows series of studies where government school teachers have expressed the inability of the students and their families to afford digital devices. Situating CwSN within this alternative digital space as the exclusive medium of learning during the pandemic clearly reflect their long learning gaps, because of inaccessible digital capital. Conversations with special educators and regular teachers revealed that CwSN were unable to access the digital platform. The narratives provided a grim picture about the learning gaps of students of government schools where access to digital platforms created a digital divide transforming education into a capital, acquired by few. During the pandemic period, government of West Bengal ensured monthly mid-day meal distribution where rice, pulses, sugar, soaps and other commodities were provided from the school for each student. At the same time, during these days physical worksheets were also provided from the school along with virtual assistance to fill up the learning gaps. However, in spite of all this, question of accommodating the diverse needs of the learners could not be efficiently addressed. Negotiating the space of inclusive education in the temporal space of pandemic clearly reflect the practice of digital divide where access to learning meant access to digital capital. Unfortunately, percentage of ICT users are low in the country where it can be suggested that the government needs to supervise the digital superstructure of the country, which has become an inescapable reality in our everyday lives.

The present study aimed to understand the process of inclusion of CwSN in government run schools of Kolkata. Choosing only government run schools of Kolkata seemed to be important, since all government run schools are mandated to follow the inclusive policy guidelines of the government. Realization of the inclusive policy is at the disposal of the private school bodies. The initial point of contradiction in realizing the inclusive policy is associated with the 'zero rejection' policy, in terms of admission criteria, in the government run schools. Hence, the choice of the field was inherent; however, while reflecting on the study, exploring the domain of inclusion in private run schools can be regarded as a subject of further research as well as assumed as one of the limitations of the study. At a glance, the findings of the study are briefed under the following bullets:

- The meaning of inclusion goes through a series of negotiations at the cultural level, where instruments of culture often pattern the process of including CWSN.
- Inclusive school culture gets reflected in two aspects. One includes the socio culture climate of the school involving the vision and perception of school teacher and most importantly the head teacher. Second include the physical aspect of the school comprising of the infrastructural element of the school, which should be more inclusive or disabled friendly.
- The relationship between religion and culture is inseparable, where religion acts as an essential element of human conditioning and patterning their communication exchanges. Communication is an important aspect of inclusion process where realization of 'being included' often comes through communication exchanges and reflections. Negotiating disability through theological lens often acts as a stumbling block to the goals of inclusion.
- Communication exchanges revealed cases of peer bullying as well as silent role of teachers. Shared interactions reflected disability as a sin or punishment or even a contagious disease.
- Inclusive school involves creating an inclusive curriculum which is dependent on the pedagogy adopted by the teacher. Pedagogy is inherently cultural which is aligned with the reflection and attitude of the teachers in response to the issue.

My field reflects exclusionary practices in an inclusive school, where the perception of the stakeholders towards CwSN is indeed a subject of concern. To ensure respect and dignity in a school involves a multi participant process who is responsible for maintaining an inclusive culture to establish inclusive model within school space, there is a need to think and envision beyond the government endorsed policies. Since policies and amendments aim to safeguard and provision legal sanctions but the real inclusion takes place in physical and cultural spaces of the school where the cultural realm comprising of relationships, communications and exchanges build up the school culture which inherently determine the degree of inclusion in schools.

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